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Incorporating *Empire*

Comment

POLICY IN AFRICA

SO 1953 ended with another personal tragedy and another political crisis, this time in Uganda. Two facts emerge from the White Paper.¹ The first is Mr. Lyttelton's personal responsibility. His gratuitous reference to a possible federation in East Africa, coming from the Minister responsible for the imposition of federation on Central Africa, was bound to create a crisis. Whatever attempts are made to repeat assurances, the memory of his disregard for African opinion in Central Africa will dog his African policy to its grave. The second is African distrust for 'partnership' as manifested in parity arrangements in legislatures. Whether parity is on the Kenya, Uganda or Tanganyika model, it gives to immigrant minority communities a political weight out of all proportion to their numerical (though not to their economic) strength. This may be satisfactory as a stage, but Africans are entitled to ask a number of questions. How long will it last? What will the succeeding stage be? What is the ultimate aim? Who will determine the ultimate aim? Will it be achieved only after immigrant groups have dug themselves in so deeply that Africans can no longer call their countries their own? African delegates at Victoria Falls asked these questions in vain. It is hardly surprising that Buganda leaders should ask them again, and even suggest that they might not wish to remain part of a larger Uganda in which this policy is expected to operate. They have now retreated from this unpromising position, but the issue still remains for settlement. Mr. Lyttelton went some way to meet them in his declaration

that the future of Uganda is envisaged as that of an African state, but even then he talked of 'proper safeguards for minorities.' What are 'proper' safeguards, and who is to decide? Is the ultimate aim democracy or is it not? It is time a straight answer was given to a straight question.

It must be given in Africa as well as London. In Kenya and the Rhodesias Europeans have fought openly for political supremacy and have shown their contempt for the Colonial Office. In Kenya both Europeans and Indians still clamour for more immigration. If they do not do so in Uganda, it is natural for Africans to think it at least possible that this is because they are too few. Even now they still talk about grandiose federations. If the Secretary of State does the same, may they not remember that it was he who 'gave a lead' in Central Africa immediately after Sir Godfrey Huggins had publicly complained that the Labour Government could not be kicked into giving a lead? How long will the Colonial Office resist pressure if it is exerted? The fear can be removed only if there is a change of heart on the spot. Sir Godfrey Huggins and Sir Roy Welensky have got their federation. They have won an election with a majority so overwhelming that they can do practically what they like. They have in the new federal legislature a group of Africans who could hardly be more moderate. It is for them to prove that pressure will not be exerted to attain objects distasteful to the African majorities in their countries. The copper companies are rapidly bringing to a head the whole question of advancement of Africans in skilled employment. It is for the European trade unions to show Uganda that economic development is not inseparable from industrial colour bars. If they do not, it will be useless to regard the Uganda Africans as retrogressive in their political aims. They have not always been retrogressive, but they may become so if they are pushed.

¹ See *Uganda Protectorate: Withdrawal of Recognition from Kabaka Mutesa II of Buganda*. Cmd. 9028. H. M. Stationery Office, 1s. 6d.

This is the core of the complaint against Mr. Lyttelton. The Governor of Uganda, with a policy of economic, educational and political progress for Africans, now finds negative political elements coming to the fore again. They have been given a personal issue, with considerable nationalist appeal, on which to campaign. How can they be brought back into constructive channels? The aim of policy should be stated now. It should be the building up of democratic life into which minorities will fit as they do elsewhere. The problems raised by economic expansion should be discussed fully now. Even if agreement is reached, there will still be immense difficulties, many of them internal. They will never be faced if extraneous targets are presented to African politicians for their prior attention. Mr. Lyttelton and the minorities in Africa can have progressive African nationalist movements in their countries, or they can have reactionary nihilist movements. They have no third choice in the long run. Which is it to be?

FABIAN BIRTHDAY

IT is legitimate at the age of seventy for a society to look back to its past. In the case of our own this is a very salutary exercise, particularly for colonial specialists. For the Fabian Society began with a vision—it took birth at a meeting of the Fellowship of the New Life on January 4, 1884—and has spent its 70 years trying to translate its vision into actuality. It began when the mass of the population was poor, exploited, largely uneducated; it has seen great changes only because the practical work of investigation, of working out remedies for specific problems, was undertaken and sustained by men and women who believed in a better world. How similar is the position of many colonial leaders to-day! Seven years ago, at a Fabian Colonial Bureau conference, a distinguished West Indian Fabian, Dr. Arthur Lewis, saw a gulf between the Society and most of these leaders:

‘They are principally interested in acquiring power—few make a serious study of colonial problems and would know what to do if they acquired power. Their frustration distorts their perspective, makes them ill-informed, strident. Of course there are many notable exceptions. . . This general attitude goes down worst in Fabian circles. Colonial politicians are interested mainly in general principles—liberty, freedom, self-government. Fabians are never interested in general principles, but in specific problems. . .’

But times have changed. Many colonial ‘agitators’ are now legislators and Ministers. Many, in achieving responsibility, have come to see the value of Fabian methods. It is no accident that there is hardly a colonial legislature to-day in which at

least one member does not subscribe regularly to this journal. Many will understand better than British Socialists now do the challenge of the situation in which a young movement finds itself. In his *Plan of Campaign for Labour* (1894) Shaw wrote of the Labour candidates who would support the principle of collective ownership by ‘a general declaration . . . or, more shortly, by announcing themselves as Socialists or Social-Democrats.’ To them he said:—

‘Such a general declaration . . . will not do instead of a programme. Men are sent to Parliament, not to declare general aims and principles, but to make laws; and the Socialist must explain what are the particular measures he proposes to support in the next Parliament if he wishes sober citizens to vote for him.’

The Society has concerned itself with these ‘particular’ measures for 70 years. It is still doing so. Yet we must always remember the vision of that first ‘Fellowship of New Life.’ For after all, it is new life that the Colonies want.

GOOD AND BAD IN THE WEST INDIES

PROGRESS in the West Indies continues to be patchy and uneven. While Jamaica has succeeded in reorganising its Government with full ministerial status, two Ministers have subsequently been dismissed for non-political offences. British Guiana awaits the Commission which is to report on the constitution. British Honduras has been registering voters for its first universal suffrage election. Barbados, where the Labour Party won 16 out of 24 seats in the general election of 1951, is about to reap the rewards of having both a sensible party and an antiquated constitution. There being no reserve powers and no power to legislate by Order-in-Council apart from orders under Imperial legislation, the granting of ministerial status which is now being discussed will, in the words of *The Beacon*, ‘ensure that Barbados will have a government of the people, elected by the people and responsible to the people.’ The conservative opposition, which has sustained a long fight against the reform of local government, is finding objections to this advance also, but it has no powerful interests to support it. By contrast, Trinidad goes from bad to worse. With financial powers firmly entrenched, an unsatisfactory constitution, and utter disunity amongst the electorate, its Government appears to be quite satisfied with the illiberal reputation which the Colony is gaining for itself. Only the technicality of the date of the new Immigration Order prevented the deportation of a St. Kitts journalist working in the Colony, and it is being openly said that the

listing of reporters and journalists amongst the vulnerable classes is a weapon prepared ready for newspapers which criticise the Government. The Order lists 147 professions, trades and occupations which are in effect reserved to Trinidadians. New immigrants to the Colony wishing to enter them may be deemed to be undesirable immigrants on economic grounds. It is understandable that some immigration control is necessary, but to tighten it and apply it to West Indians just when the report of the Federation Conference is being discussed in the legislatures may well spell the death of Federation. On the outer fringe, beyond the West Indies proper, the Bahamas still choose to insult distinguished coloured visitors, a custom also of Bermuda, in mid-Atlantic, which adds the injury of such political backwardness that none of its coloured citizens has reached the status required for inclusion in a small function to meet the Queen. There is nothing new in this part of the story—just the same rotten old one being told again.

STERLING BALANCES AGAIN

AT long last the Colonial Office has produced a *Memorandum on the Sterling Assets of the British Colonies*¹ which explains reasonably simply what these assets are. Immediately after the war, when the United Kingdom had difficulty in supplying all the goods that some Colonies wanted to import, while at the same time the territories with dollar surpluses were limited in their dollar expenditure, it was frequently and often reasonably argued that Britain was not giving the Colonies a fair deal. It was less frequently realised that all the members of the sterling area with dollar deficits, not Britain alone, benefited from these surpluses. A territory like the Gold Coast had to balance the advantages of belonging to the sterling area against the disadvantage of receiving sterling instead of dollars for its cocoa at a time when it could not spend all its sterling. There came a new boom with the Korean war, and sterling assets held in London rose still higher. Now that the prices of many colonial crops are falling, the situation is changing again. The Colonial Office concludes that—

‘the Colonies have good reason for satisfaction in their present sterling reserves. They have been able, during the few exceptional years of favourable terms of trade, to increase their reserves against a future recession, while they increased their consumption, expanded their physical assets and carried out general plans of economic and social improvement with the help of outside capital, most of which came from the United Kingdom. . . Raw material prices

have now declined, and with certain exceptions the terms of trade have become less favourable. If these trends continue, the accumulated savings of the Colonies will be of great value in enabling them to face the future with confidence. . .’

The *Memorandum* is largely derived from a much longer study, *Colonial Monetary Conditions*,¹ by Dr. Ida Greaves. Dr. Greaves shows that colonial currency backing is held in London, together with pension funds, savings bank investments, and—most important of all, the funds of the West African Marketing Boards. Some of these funds are held for price stabilisation, some part of the balances are held because it is not desired to invest them at home—‘in the post-war conditions of Malaya,’ for example, ‘it is not strange that internally as well as externally owned business should keep a high proportion of resources in liquid form while awaiting some clarification of the investment outlook in the area.’ Dr. Greaves points out that Colonies can borrow in London on more favourable terms than foreign countries, and that independent currencies would often cost them more than their present arrangements. She does not generalise for the whole colonial empire, but asks that the interests of the United Kingdom and of each territory should be examined in each case. She concludes that—

‘Some colonial territories, especially those embarked on a rapid current of self-government, or those who believe that their future lies in concentration on internal development rather than external trade, may prefer to manage their own monetary affairs in spite of the greater instability and higher costs this would involve. And it should not be too readily assumed that such a severance would be of detriment to the United Kingdom.’

She has put the cat firmly amongst the economists, and also amongst the colonial politicians. It is very desirable that in West Africa, in particular, these studies should be read and discussed. The future economic relationship of Britain with these territories is of immense importance to both sides, and must be freed from the atmosphere of distrust which still hangs about the questions of dollar expenditure and the control and expenditure of marketing board funds. Only a few weeks ago Mr. Awolowo told a delegation of Nigerian farmers that he and his party were in sympathy with their demand for a higher price for cocoa, but could do nothing about it because they did not control the marketing of cocoa and because ‘the British Government was using their cocoa to pay its debt to the United States of America.’² Any light on a subject so darkened is welcome.

¹ *Colonial Research Studies No. 10. H.M.S.O., 5s.*

² *Nigerian Tribune, October 13, 1953.*

¹ *Colonial No. 298. H.M. Stationery Office. 9d.*

COLONIAL OPINION . . .

The Position of Buganda

In September, 1953, the Great Lukiko (Council of Buganda) passed a memorandum for submission to the Governor of Uganda and the British Government, following expressions of public anxiety at 'the words of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, which were reported in the issue of the "East African Standard" of July 2, 1953, to the effect that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government in future to federate the three African territories . . .' Extracts are given below:—

Long before the coming of the Europeans Buganda had achieved an undisputed supremacy over her neighbours. . . The British recognised this supremacy, as reference to the Agreements of 1894 and 1900 can show. Buganda had, too, a well-developed system of Government which differed very little from a constitutional government, and which was admired by the early Europeans, whether explorer, missionary, trader or administrator. She also had a civilisation of her own which differed from that of any other tribes the Europeans found in Africa, especially politically and socially. . .

During question hour in the Great Lukiko, in 1951, the following question was asked:—

Question: 'It is well known that the Uganda Agreement of 1900 was drafted and ratified by the Foreign Office. Is it not the time to ask His Majesty's Government the reasons which caused the transfer of our affairs from that Office to the Colonial Office?'

Answer by the Protectorate Government: 'When the British first declared a Protectorate in Uganda, the Germans were in occupation of what is now Tanganyika, and the boundaries between Uganda and Tanganyika on the one hand and between Uganda and the Belgian Congo on the other had not been properly surveyed or defined. In those circumstances, the Foreign Office, one of the principal duties of which is to negotiate with foreign powers, was considered the appropriate body to administer the Protectorate, but this was a temporary arrangement, and as soon as the immediate international questions were settled, it was brought to an end, and the administration then passed to the department of His Majesty's Government best equipped to undertake the responsibility for administration of colonial territories.'

This answer is unsatisfactory and it creates a wrong impression, since it presupposes that we are a Colony. We are not a Colony and we have never been a Colony. . .

In the setting up of the East African High Commission, our economic resources were pooled with those of the neighbouring territories without consulting us, in spite of our repeated requests that this matter be put before the Great Lukiko for an opinion, and thus Uganda was subjected to external legislation without the consent of the indigenous people,

which goes to show that the position we once held as a state was no longer tenable.

Whenever there is a change in colonial policy, Uganda becomes involved in it too, to her disadvantage. For instance, in the two policies of Trusteeship and Partnership, Uganda being a Protectorate should conform to the trusteeship system, and yet the present drive is leading towards partnership as is exemplified by the composition of the Uganda Legislative Council.

This Legislative Council has undermined our constitution as evidenced by the appointment of the Katikiro of Buganda, then a Regent, to the Council in 1946, which involved him in being elected to the East African Central Assembly (an external legislating body contrary to the Secretary of State's assurance of 1922), a procedure which was at variance with the wishes of the Lukiko. The Colonial Office is trying to make the Legislative Council the parliament of the country, which is unconstitutional, being aimed at introducing a system of partnership, a departure from the terms of the 1894 Agreement, made for the sole purpose of protection. . .

Resulting from this transfer and deterioration of status our affairs have reached a stage where it is even proposed constantly to federate our country with neighbouring territories in spite of our outspoken opposition to it. . .

In 1931, a deputation from Buganda met the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament in London, and gave witness against Federation. As a result of their witness the Committee realised that it was not right to press for Closer Union, and reported in favour of the retention of its identity by each territory without material change in its present method of government.

In 1947, however, White Paper 210 was passed against the wishes of the African population of East Africa. This act on the part of the British aroused such great suspicion that the Secretary of State had to make assurances in Parliament on July 28, 1947. . .

. . . When Mr. James Griffiths as the Secretary of State for the Colonies visited Uganda in 1951, in his speech in the Great Lukiko at Mengo, he publicly gave the same assurance.

In view of the foregoing and the statement made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, at a dinner in London in June this year . . . and the fact that it followed soon after the imposition of Federation over Central Africa against African opinion, and the disregard of the Nyasaland status as a Protectorate, we are compelled to take immediate concrete steps to safeguard our future. We, therefore,

- (i) strongly oppose any form of political union affecting Uganda with the neighbouring territories; and most earnestly urge that:
- (ii) the affairs of our country revert to the Foreign Office; and
- (iii) a time limit be set for our Independence within the Commonwealth.

The Removal of the Kabaka

The Uganda National Congress issued the following statement on November 30, 1953:—

The Uganda National Congress views with deep and distressed concern the action taken by H.E. the Governor in deporting H.H. the Kabaka from the Kingdom of Buganda. This action is almost unprecedented in recent colonial history. The lawful and beloved King of Buganda has been removed from his country without even being allowed to communicate with his own people.

Upon hearing this news world opinion would assume that the Kabaka had been guilty of some terrible crime against the Government and Constitution. This is not the case. The Kabaka has been engaged in private discussions with the Governor as to the best means of implementing the 1900 Agreement. It is now revealed that there have been disagreements, but at no time did the Kabaka reveal to the general public any disagreements he had. He was most discreet in not alarming his people in any way as he wished only constitutional means to be adopted in furthering the advance of his people.

Now the British Government has taken a violently dictatorial attitude and has given a strong indication that it no longer wishes to discuss these questions in a sane, progressive and peaceful spirit.

The Uganda National Congress hopes that despite this provocation the Uganda people will remain calm at this time. There is still every hope that Uganda will gain its right of self-government without any recourse to violent action. Even though the British Government has chosen to insult the Kabaka and his people there is a chance that this decision will be reversed and a suitable apology made. Therefore we call upon the people of Uganda not to take any violent actions which would prejudice their legitimate rights.

Justice is on the side of the Kabaka and his people. . .

It has always been the declared policy of the Uganda National Congress to work for the advance of this country through peaceful and constitutional means. It will continue to work in this way, and it hopes that the British Government will help the situation to return to normal so that Uganda can make peaceful progress towards the independence which has been the declared policy of successive British Governments.

To assist this end the Uganda National Congress asks the British Parliament to appoint an all-party Commission of Enquiry which can investigate the present situation in Uganda.

The Nyasaland Constitution

A meeting of the Nyasaland Chiefs' Union (President, Chief G. Mwase) was held on 11th-12th September, 1953, at Lilongwe. One resolution passed asked for 'immediate' reforms to be made in local and central government, on the following lines:—

... In view of the fact that Europeans, who number 4,000, have unofficial membership in the Legislative Council of five and Africans have only three, the

Africans ask the Government to increase their membership to the same number as that of the Europeans and Asians put together. The Africans should like to see additional unofficial members on both sides of Europeans and Asians on the one hand, and Africans on the other, as follows:—

4	African Members from the Southern Province.
3	" " " " Central Province.
3	" " " " Northern Province.

This will give Africans 10 members in the Legislative Council, and we propose that the European, including Indian, membership also be increased to ten on the Uganda Protectorate model, and thus bringing about the policy of African equal representation with immigrant races in the Protectorate.

On the Governor's Executive Council a similar demand is made, and that is, that the number of European and African unofficial members be the same number. African members to the Executive Council should be selected by the African members of the Legislative Council. Accordingly, we ask that the African membership on the Executive Council should be two in equality with European membership.

We entirely reject the method of nomination of members of both Councils, Committees and Boards by the Governor. We ask for the franchise to be granted forthwith and without delay. . .

We ask therefore that all Africans over the age of 21 should be granted the franchise provided they possess one of the following qualifications:—

- (a) provided they have passed standard four and can read and write their names, addresses and occupation;
- (b) provided they are chiefs and headmen of their people;
- (c) provided they hold a position of influence due to their wealth or status in the Community, such as businessmen, craftsmen, and so on.

All these should have the right to elect members to the District, Provincial and Legislative Councils as well as Executive Council provided they pay Hut and Poll Taxes to the Government.

Membership of the Provincial Councils should be by election through the Africans of the Province. All Chiefs should be ex-officio members of the Provincial Councils in the Province. The number of Commoners on the Provincial Council should equal that of the Chiefs. The Chairman should be an African elected by members of the Council themselves. We reject the chairmanship of the District and Provincial Commissioners, which has the effect of hampering free and unfettered discussions by African members of the Councils.

Membership of the District Council should be elective. . . The Council shall elect its own Chairman who shall be an African. . . The Council should also be responsible for the dismissal of its members. . .

The aim of the African people is not domination, but equality and parity of representation must go and must be replaced by the recognition by all races of their inter-dependence upon one another. . .

FACT

UGANDA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

One of the points raised in discussion of the Uganda crisis is the composition of the Legislative Council. As from January 1st, 1954, the Council is to be enlarged from 32 to 56 members. The changes involved are as follows:—

Old Council		New Council	
Unofficial Members:			
African ...	8	Africans ...	14
Asians ...	4	Asians ...	7
Europeans ...	4	Europeans ...	7
	—		—
Official Members ...	16		28
Nominated ...	16		18
	—		10
	—		—
Total ...	32		56
	—		—

The ten nominated members will, as in Kenya, be expected to give broad support to Government policy, but will be free to speak and vote as they wish except on any issue treated by the Government as a matter of confidence. It has been said that they may include public figures such as chairmen of statutory boards, and it is to be expected that they will include members of different racial communities.

On the representative side, the proportionate representation of the racial communities remains unaltered. In the old *Legislative Council*, Buganda has sent two of the eight African members: in the new, its representation is three out of fourteen. African members of the old Council were chosen on a provincial basis. In an attempt to bring the members closer to the people, they will in the new Council, outside Buganda, be chosen through District Councils for nomination by the Governor. One District, Karamoja, is considered to be unready for representation. For Buganda, it was planned that names should be put forward by the Kabaka. When discussions were taking place in 1950, it was suggested that they should be put forward by the Great Lukiko, but the Lukiko rejected this. In his dispatch published in Uganda on August 11, 1953, outlining these changes, the Governor stated that nomination by the Lukiko would be favoured by the Government if the Lukiko, with popular support, changed its mind. The Buganda *Lukiko* consists of 89 members. It was announced in March, 1953, that the number of elected members was to be increased from 40 to 60.

The *Uganda Executive Council* was enlarged in July, 1952. There are now six unofficial members (two Africans, two Asians and two Europeans). There is no Member system as in Kenya.

In the House of Commons debate on the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda (December 2, 1953), Mrs. Eirene White referred to the composition of the

Uganda Legislative Council and suggested that this caused disquiet amongst Africans:—

'I suggest that one of the fundamental apprehensions which underlies the unrest in Uganda is that they feel that they are willy-nilly being drawn along this road towards being a multi-racial community, which they do not wish to be. . . . The only thing that would really meet the needs of the situation at the present time was a clear declaration of the goal towards which Uganda is to move.'

The Secretary of State intervened to say:—

'I consider that she is on one of the most important points in the whole of this subject. This gives me an opportunity of saying that we regard the future of Uganda primarily as an African State with the proper safeguards for the minorities.'

On December 9 Mr. James Johnson tabled a question to secure affirmation of this point. Mr. Lyttelton replied:—

'That is more or less in accordance with the statement I made during the debate, and I am quite willing to reaffirm it.'

DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

Speaking in the Legislative Council on November 20th, 1953, the Governor referred to the following developments which occurred in 1953 or were projected for 1954.

Political

Changes decided upon in Buganda would make the Great Lukiko more representative and would transfer the responsibility for certain services from the Protectorate Government to the Government of Buganda.

The Legislative Council of Uganda would be enlarged from January 1, 1954.

Legislation to give local government councils in the Eastern, Western and Northern Provinces more responsibility and to make them more representative would be laid before the Legislative Council in 1954.

Africanisation

Up to the end of 1952, five Africans had been appointed to senior posts, and during 1953 four more were added. In addition, 17 African officers had been appointed to the Special Division of the local Civil Service during 1953. At the end of 1952, four Africans held the rank of Inspector of Police; in 1953 one of these was promoted Assistant Superintendent and eight more were appointed as Inspectors.

Education

The Government had accepted the proposals of

the de Bunsen Report for the reorganisation of teacher training, the improvement of teachers' conditions, extension of primary and secondary education, and reorganisation of local education authorities to give them increased responsibilities.

The expansion of teacher training had begun and would eventually proceed to the production of 1,100 teachers a year. The lowest grade in future would have received at least eight years' schooling and two years' professional training.

Health

In 1953 legislation was enacted to give local recognition to African Medical Officers who qualified at Makerere from December, 1951. Efforts were continuing to raise the standard of the medical school to the level at which the General Medical Council of the United Kingdom would grant full recognition.

Agriculture

In 1953 100,000 more acres than in 1952 had been planted to cotton. Three of the four ginneries handed over to African co-operative unions in 1952 had already been bought by the unions on payment of one-third of the price and three more had been handed over on lease for the 1953-54 season. A total of eight ginneries were now in the hands of Africans. Coffee plantings had increased, and the projected reorganisation of the industry would bring Africans into processing with licences for six curing works.

Co-operatives

The number of registered co-operative societies had increased from 574 at the end of 1952 to over 800. The African staff of the Co-operative Department had been increased. Applications for the registration of new societies were being received from all but two districts.

Finance for Development

In 1953, the Legislative Council allocated £11,257,000 from the African Development Fund for social and economic development schemes in addition to the £4,219,000 allocated in 1952. The total is allocated as follows: African education, £10m.; agriculture, including the cotton ginneries scheme, the expansion of the Agricultural Faculty at Makerere and the establishment of agricultural institutes, £2,345,000; expansion of medical services, over £1m.; rural water supplies, £500,000; community development, nearly £1m.; the expansion of departmental training schools and overseas scholarships to qualify Africans for senior appointments in Government service, over £300,000.

The Uganda Development Corporation

It is hoped that next year decisions will be taken towards the establishment of a mining industry at Sukulu following the investigations of the Corporation and Frobishers and Monsanto Chemicals Ltd. The Corporation had also reached an agreement for the financing of production from copper-cobalt deposits at Kilembe. Work had started on a textile

factory at Jinja to be established by Nyanza Textile Industries Ltd., in which the Corporation and Calico Printers Ltd. are partners. The Tororo cement industry could now meet Uganda's normal needs at competitive prices.

EDUCATION IN HONG KONG

Remarkable progress since the end of the war is recorded in the 1952 Report of the Director of Education, Hong Kong. During the Japanese occupation, schools and colleges which had not been destroyed by enemy action were looted, so that by August, 1945, many were left with bare walls and only 4,000 children were attending school. Education was steadily expanded from 1947 onwards so that the number of pupils rose from 109,905 in 672 institutions to 194,575 in 1,039 institutions in 1951-52. Over the same period Government expenditure rose from HK \$9m. to HK \$29m.¹ The University of Hong Kong has increased its enrolment to 850, the largest number since its foundation in 1912. Before the war there was one Teachers' Training College with a two-year course. In 1945, the Rural Training College was established which undertakes extra-mural activities in the villages, including the operation of three free evening schools. In 1952, an additional Teachers' Training College was opened. The Technical College, also a post-war development, offers four diploma courses in building, engineering, telecommunications and navigation. The interest in technical education and the progress that has been made are shown by the increase in the number of students from 250 in 1947 to 2,000 in 1952 enrolled in technical evening classes. The continued need for expansion is revealed in 400 applications last year for 85 places.

Owing to the rapid increase in the population of Hong Kong due to conditions on the mainland, the expansion has still not met the need. More buildings and teachers are needed, classes are overcrowded and many schools are working the shift system.

The Education Department has decided to reorganise the secondary schools to give a five-year course, following a six-year primary course, leading to the Hong Kong English School Certificate Examination which from 1954 is to be taken at ordinary and advanced level. The 1953 entry for the ordinary level exceeded 1,500. The University uses only the English language and an enlarged School for Higher Chinese Studies and a Department of Extra-Mural Studies are recommended by the Committee on Higher Education which reported in 1952.

UNITED NATIONS FOURTH COMMITTEE

On December 9th the Secretary of State was questioned in the House of Commons on the attitude of the British Government to consideration of Central

¹ HK \$1.00 = 1s. 3d.

African matters by the United Nations. The questions and replies are given below:—

Mr. G. Thomson asked the Secretary of State whether he would make a statement on the declaration of 26th October of Her Majesty's Government's delegate to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations that if the political situation in Central Africa were made a subject of debate, the British delegation would have to consider its future co-operation in the work of the Committee.

Mr. Lyttelton replied that under Article 73 (e) of the Charter, the Government undertook to transmit regularly to the United Nations, for information, technical material on economic, social and educational conditions in dependent territories. This we had done. We had also been ready to join in general discussions based on these transmissions, although no provision was made for such discussions in the Charter; but there was no obligation under Article 73 (e) to transmit political information. Moreover, we believed that to expose the domestic politics of our territories to discussion would be harmful to their peoples. Since Article 2 (7) precluded the United Nations from intervening in the domestic affairs of any State, the Government, like their predecessors, were not prepared to allow discussion of the political affairs of any of our territories, either in general or

in particular. They would oppose all attempts to extend the Charter by such discussion and, if it were to occur, they would find it difficult to co-operate further with the Fourth Committee, except in regard to Trust Territories.

Mr. G. M. Thomson asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to continue providing information concerning Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the appropriate committee of the United Nations.

Mr. Lyttelton: In existing circumstances it is Her Majesty's Government's intention in agreement with the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to transmit information on social, economic and educational conditions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, as in the past.

Mr. Nicholson: If a new member of the Commonwealth is created by the Central African Federation, how does it come about that we are entitled to transmit information?

Mr. Lyttelton: My hon. Friend will no doubt remember that in a large number of these matters the Protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been preserved and authority flows directly from the Colonial Office and not from the Federation.

TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

AS news of an ever-worsening kind comes through from South Africa, there is a tendency in Britain to forget the existence of South African liberals. But it is important to remember that there are groups and individuals who continue to sustain the principles of democratic society and to work for their full implementation in their country—judges, teachers, clergymen, social workers, trade unionists, members of such bodies as the South African Institute of Race Relations and the new Liberal Party.

British sympathy for South Africans is useless if confined to denunciation of racist policies. A *Fund for African Democracy*¹ has been opened in Britain with an appeal signed by Reginald Sorensen, M.P., Canon Collins, Anthony Greenwood, M.P., and George Doughty. It hopes to give practical assistance, for example, to help African workers to establish properly functioning trade unions and to provide legal defence for persons arrested under oppressive laws. A start has been made in providing factual material by the publication of a cheap edition (5s.) of *The Choice Before South Africa*, by Solly Sachs. The first meeting sponsored by the Fund was held in London on December 4, and was addressed by Walter Sisulu, Secretary of the African National Congress, South Africa. Mr. Sisulu said:—

My organisation, the African National Congress, is the foremost organisation of the African people, and was founded in 1912 to fight for our political and economic rights. It has used legitimate methods to gain redress and has been led by responsible leaders of African thought. Deputations to the British Government and to the Union authorities have been unsuccessful. The organisation exercises wide influence on Africans. Formerly many Paramount Chiefs of the Union and the Protectorates participated, and in spite of intimidation by the Government, still regard the A.N.C. as their mouthpiece. The A.N.C. has branches throughout the Union, its leaders are democratically elected by delegates at Conference, and it has a membership of over 100,000. . . .

A new phase of racial discrimination and oppression began in 1948 when Dr. Malan's Government was elected, on the platform of 'apartheid' which means more than 'segregation': it has meant the intensification of oppression. It has whipped up racial hysteria between Black and White and preached race hatred amongst the White people too: anti-English and anti-Semitic propaganda was intensified. . . . The *Group Areas Act* is designed to ruin non-Europeans economically by removing them, with or without compensation, from the areas in which they reside or trade. The *Suppression of Communism Act*

¹ 2, Amen Court, London, E.C.4.

seeks to silence all opposition to the Government, as evidenced by the indiscriminate bannings of political and trade union leaders, European and Non-European. The *Mixed Marriages Act* forbids marriages between White and Black persons, and makes it a criminal offence. The *Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act* makes it a crime for African workers to strike. The passing of these Acts and the introduction of the *Separate Voters' Bill* brought about unprecedented hostility from all sections of the population.

... The African National Congress and the Indian Congress launched a Defiance Campaign on June 26, 1952. Based on the principle that anyone who has made South Africa his home, irrespective of the colour of his skin, was a South African and as such was entitled to a say in the affairs of the country, the Campaign was a disciplined protest against Nationalist policies. It brought about strong and powerful organisation of the people and great determination to fight for freedom. More than 10,000 persons protested against the unjust racialist laws, thereby court-ing imprisonment. The Union Government responded with the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* and the *Public Safety Act*...

A change of tactics and consolidation of our forces was necessary. The machinery of the liberatory movement had to be geared to meet the new situation. The Government's decision to move Africans from the western part of Johannesburg, under the 'black-spot removal' scheme to a place 12 to 15 miles away from their places of employment, left thousands of Africans without accommodation. Many live below the bread-line already. People are obliged to go into camps and be persecuted by municipal regulations. Transport facilities are shockingly inadequate. To live further away from their place of employment reduces meagre wages still further. Africans see the whittling away of their already limited rights and are determined to put up a fight with all strength at their command.

The report issued by the Commission of the United Nations on racial discrimination in South Africa is excellent. We hope that the United Nations will go further by taking positive steps against the Union Government. It is difficult to understand why the British representative at the United Nations continues to support the racial policies of Dr. Malan and his continuous defiance of United Nations resolutions.

The recent statement by Dr. Malan that he was going to renew his move for incorporation of the High Commissioner's territories—Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland—into the Union calls for the reiteration of our attitude. We know the effect of the Union's racial policies and contend that the bringing of these Protectorates into the Union for exploitation and oppression would be criminal. I want to appeal to the British people to see that their Government does not betray the trust placed in it by the Protectorate peoples, who do not want incorporation; and their understanding of the word 'consultation' is that the British Government is obliged not only to consult, but to obtain the consent of, the peoples in the Protectorates.

Further, the struggling peoples of Africa consider their struggles interwoven, not isolated. What touches Africans in Kenya and Uganda touches Africans in Rhodesia and South Africa. We believe in peaceful discussion with the recognised leaders of the people, not use of intimidation and armed force.

... Our cause deserves both moral and material support. We hope that the British people will help us while there is still time; they must do it soon if they wish to retain the friendship of the African people.

Correspondence

Nigeria and Self-Government in 1956

Dear Sir,

I for one eagerly want self-government for Nigeria, even at this very moment. But outside our reasonable sentiment as to when it should be, let us, especially fellow-Nigerians, 'brave' to answer frankly the following questions determining the time most realistically:—

1. Are we honestly fighting for 'God and country' by carrying on with hellish mutual distrust, hate and separatism, instead of applying the winning methods of brotherly love and spirit of unity?
2. Have our natural rulers and political leaders taken stock of the new scheme of things, even in the general sense, and reached any agreement?
3. What is the position of our natural rulers in the New Nigeria?
4. How far are our compatriots and nationalists and citizens generally—whether as individuals or groups—tolerant and proud of one another—without which self-government innocently becomes a curse instead of a blessing?
5. Is it not absolutely essential for us to have only one all-embracing national camp now we are struggling for self-government, and political parties later?
6. Do we admit that we are dividing ourselves, at least by allowing ourselves to be divided, even though we may like to accuse others of dividing us?
7. Have the masses been at all educated to follow both events and leaders responsibly and intelligently?
8. Does our present mutual intolerant and uncompromising attitude show that we are really ready to take over full responsibility?
9. Do we see ourselves in the mirror as the world sees us?
10. Therefore is it not clearly conclusive that we must first put ourselves and our house in order and self-government must then come—whether before, by or after 1956—even uncalled for?

Yours faithfully,

V. E. Eze.

East Croydon.

Parliament

Economic and Social Development in Malaya. Sir R. Acland asked what recent decisions had been reached about new financial support from Her Majesty's Government for economic and social development in Malaya. Mr. Lyttelton replied that he had recently assured the High Commissioner that H.M.G. would provide the financial assistance in 1954 which the Federation Government would need to prosecute the campaign against the Communist terrorists without delaying economic and social development. The amount and form of the assistance he would ask Parliament to provide was now under consideration. (October 21, 1953.)

Jema'a Agricultural Scheme in Nigeria. Mr. James Johnson asked for the details of the Jema'a agricultural scheme of the Northern Region Production Development Board of Nigeria; why the Birom Chiefs had opposed it; and what steps were being taken to overcome this opposition. Mr. Lyttelton replied that in 1949 the Emir of Jema'a had agreed to let farmers from the Birom people use land in the Jema'a division. A resettlement scheme was then begun for the benefit of Birom volunteers with assistance from Government supervisory staff and money. The Northern Region Production Development Board later had taken over the supervision and financing. Early success in clearing, building and planting had not been followed by the expected flow of new settlers. This had been due, in part, to opposition from the Birom Chiefs and elders who seemed to prefer their people to live in poverty under their control rather than in better conditions in a Moslem Emirate. Persuasion and propaganda had been used in an effort to overcome this opposition, and it had been made clear that if the Birom people were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers the land would be offered to others. (October 28, 1953.)

Tanganyika—Meru Citizens' Union Petition. Mr. Sorensen asked the Secretary of State whether he was aware of the petition to the Trusteeship Council in which it was stated that Government officials destroyed coffee trees, banana plants, corn and beans on the boundary fixed by the Government between the land of a white settler and the Wa-Meru and that a large area of land was transferred to the settler by force. Mr. Lyttelton replied that the petition related to a case in which a European settler had taken legal proceedings to evict Meru squatters from part of his farm which had been his freehold property for over 30 years. A survey of the farm boundary had been carried out in September in the presence of the District Commissioner. No crops had been destroyed and the allegations made in the petition were completely false. (December 9.)

Colour Bar in Bermuda. Mr. Driberg asked the Secretary of State if his attention had been called to the insult offered to Sir Frank McDavid, a distinguished citizen of British Guiana, when he had sought hotel accommodation in Bermuda and had been refused it on racial grounds; and what steps were being taken to end such discrimination. Mr. Lyttelton said that he had conveyed his regrets to Sir Frank McDavid when this

incident was reported in July. Her Majesty's Government had always been strongly opposed to the colour bar, but he was advised that its maintenance in certain hotels in Bermuda was essential to the tourist trade on which the people of the Colony as a whole depended for their livelihood. He had informed the Governor of his views and of his hope that everything would be done, to reduce, and, finally, to eliminate, this practice of colour discrimination in Bermuda. (December 9.)

Civil Service Appointments in Malaya. Mr. Wyatt asked how many non-Malayan and, in particular, how many Chinese had been appointed to the administrative branch in the last year since the Service had been opened to all races. Mr. Lyttelton replied that three Chinese and one Ceylonese had been appointed in the last year. Two other non-Malays could have been appointed if suitable candidates had come forward. (December 9.)

The Colonial Empire and Penal Sanctions. Mr. J. Griffiths asked what steps the Government was taking to implement the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention of 1939 which had been ratified by the United Kingdom, providing for the abolition of penal sanctions for breach of contract. Mr. Lyttelton said that the Convention had laid down that the penal sanctions covered by it should be abolished progressively, and action had been taken accordingly. In most Colonial territories they had been completely abolished. In the few territories in which certain penal sanctions remained discussions were taking place in preparation for the next session of the International Conference in June, 1954. In reply to a supplementary question, Mr. Lyttelton hoped that there would be a full report by June, 1954. (December 9.)

Undeveloped Land in Nyasaland. Mr. John Hyn asked how much land in Nyasaland alienated to Europeans was undeveloped; and what were the Government's plans in connection with such land. Mr. Lyttelton said that about 4 per cent. of the land area (887,000 acres) remained in private ownership. Of this, 787,000 acres were undeveloped apart from African occupation; but this figure included about 200,000 acres under natural forests or unsuitable for economic development and land held by missions and small estates. The Nyasaland Government had already acquired some 300,000 acres of undeveloped land held in freehold. He was considering with the Governor what further steps could be taken to ensure the best use of the Protectorate's land resources. (December 2.)

Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme. Mr. Sorensen asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what proportion of the £8m. allocated had been used and what were the causes of the slow employment of these funds. Mr. Maudling replied that on the 31st December, 1953, £894,000 had been spent and a further sum of £1,606,000 had been committed to specific projects. The rate of expenditure had been slow initially because of the time taken by the Governments of South and South-east Asian countries in the formulation of requests for technical assistance to fit in with their own development plans. Requests were now coming in at an increasing rate, and the latest figures showed that the Scheme was well under way. In relation to the extended period of the scheme the present rate of spending was not unsatisfactory. (November 25.)

Guide to Books

Colour and Culture in South Africa

By Sheila Patterson. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 30s.)

Mrs. Patterson has met a real need in presenting a full length and widely ranging study of the Cape Coloured people, the 1m. persons of mixed blood whose franchise rights are so greatly exercising South African politicians—and the conscience of the liberal world. It is perhaps a symptom of the youth of the social sciences, or of the status-ridden anxiety of Social Anthropology and its sister discipline Sociology to keep distinctly apart, that this group has not received more attention. Mrs. Patterson is an anthropologist, but her book has done the valuable service of making it clear that the Cape Coloured group does not comprise a kind of primitive society—the usual subject of the anthropologist—with, in this case, an admixture of white blood and veneer of 'Westernism.'

It is tempting to regard any single 'half-caste' group in this way, to see their problem as one of divided inheritance and loyalty and of rejection by both the coloured and white groups from which they stem. The term 'marginal man' has been coined, and is current. But the 'black' inheritance of the Cape Coloured is no longer there for him to turn to, even if he wished to. His Coloured forebears are not the present Bantu of Southern Africa, but the slaves from East Africa and Asia, and the Hottentots who inhabited the Cape when the Dutch arrived there 300 years ago. None of these original non-white groups exists to-day. It is therefore a presumptuous armchair morality which counsels the Cape Coloured to 'indentify' himself with the present non-whites, in the struggle against white exploitation. Mrs. Patterson's book shows most clearly that in every way except in his pigmentation the Cape Coloured has been born and bred into the society and outlook of the dominant Europeans; and that he can only fulfil his normal aspirations as a human being—in this case these are no less than enough to eat, freedom from disease and squalor, self-respect, and some hope for the future—by being progressively accepted by the Europeans.

To those white South Africans who know the Cape Coloured these basic facts are apparent, but they are unacceptable. Only 21 years ago, no less a Nationalist statesman than Hertzog said of the Cape Coloured, 'He knows no other civilisation than that of the white man; whatever his shortcomings may be in respect of it, his attitude to life is fundamentally that of the European. . . there can be no question of segregation. Economically, industrially and politically, the Coloured man must be incorporated with us.' To-day there is systematic *apartheid*. The Cape-Coloured is to keep strictly to 'his own' way of life. In showing us the essentially European nature of that way of life Mrs. Patterson, though she writes as a scholar, has not been able to conceal her shocked indignation at the dead-end into which it has been pushed.

Perhaps it is a form of poetic justice for European leaders that this book is such a penance to read. Half of the text is printed at the back in the form of notes, often very trivial. Even the source of an apt quotation under the chapter-title goes into the notes. More serious, the writing is very repetitive and the style ranges from a loose informality to the offensive excesses of American-type sociological jargon. But it is well worth persevering.

South African.

Africa is Here

Report of the North American Assembly on African Affairs, Springfield, June, 1952. (Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York.)

The title of this report is another reminder that Africa is no longer merely emerging, but is arriving and must be heard. The Conference was a Church-sponsored gathering of Europeans, North Americans and Africans from 28 countries, and included representatives of governments, institutions and missionary organisations. The emphasis in the papers and discussions was on change—more education, better agriculture, new industries, better transport, the growth of political consciousness and the demand for more representation on councils and assemblies.

It was realised that nationalism, considered to be a foe of the Church in most parts of Africa, could be harnessed to constructive tasks, as in Nigeria, where the marketing of export crops, the exploitation of minerals and many other economic activities are subject to varying degrees of public control with a predominantly African Government in office. In the explosive situation in South Africa, the Christian Council has the twofold task of changing the heart of the Dutch Reformed Church as well as that of the Government. Communism is not an organised force nor a major factor yet, for it is hindered by a Government policy of devolution in some parts and by strict laws of entry and exit in others, but communists are at work in mining camps and urban areas, and they must not be discounted. The Church must help Africans to prepare for self-government or for participation in government. Progress is at present uneven. There must have been some in the Conference who were caused furiously to think when they heard that whereas in West Africa European officials are working under African Ministers, in the Congo all the 4,500 civil servants are Belgian and the laws are made in Belgium.

There are many African cities which have grown enormously in recent years owing to migration of labour from the country: Leopoldville has grown to ten times its size in 15 years. In these cities detribalised Africans live in sordid conditions and a perilous moral climate. There is real need for the Churches to study the question and develop a policy for city work. But the rural areas also claimed attention. The point was made that though there is much mal-

nutrition there is little teaching on nutrition and agriculture in the schools. It was emphasised that both Africans and missionaries should be trained to remedy this. In fairness it should be said that in some territories both Governments and Churches are seeking to do so.

In every territory there is a cry for more secondary education. This is a legitimate demand in some territories, but in others (Nigeria, for example) there is a prior need for better primary education. It is good to find in the recommendations one for a higher level of Christian education for women in Africa. Another, which some Churches are already bringing into effect, is that the standard and qualifications of African ministers of religion should be raised for the sake of the young and educated.

The Africa Committee of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. is to be congratulated on the arrangements for this Assembly and on the very full report of the papers and discussions. It is a pity that so few people replied to the pre-Assembly questionnaires.

D. J.

SHORT NOTICES

R. J. : John David Rheinallt Jones, by Edgar H. Brookes. (South African Institute of Race Relations, not priced). This memoir of the Welsh son of the manse who went to South Africa in 1905 is also a record of the work of the Institute of Race Relations. Founded in 1929, the Institute was Rheinallt Jones's main preoccupation until 1947, when he became Adviser on Native Affairs to the Anglo-American Corporation, and in that capacity made a practical contribution to the welfare of urban workers. He believed, as the memoir points out, in a 'Fabian' approach, though he was not a Fabian. The comments of African colleagues reveal the weakness of such an approach where reason has no effect on the party in power, while the practical achievements of Jones and the Institute reveal its strength. In his final presidential address, read to the members by a friend when its author was on his deathbed, Rheinallt

Jones recalled the Institute's declaration of 1945, 'We cannot yet propound any general solution fully acceptable to every racial group, but we can and do pledge ourselves to continue to seek for it and to seek for it together, believing also that every positive advance we make together on specific points will hasten the day of general agreement on principle.' Then he added, 'The emphasis in this declaration is on the word "together".'

Caribbean Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad), has exceeded its own high standard, with articles on recent developments in race relations in the United States, economic policy in Tortola (British Virgin Islands) and two historical articles, one on Sir Charles Metcalfe, who became Governor of Jamaica after his Indian career, and one on *The Rise of the Village Settlements of British Guiana*. This last, by Rawle Farley, describes the establishment of villages by runaway slaves before the emancipation of 1838, and by free labourers after it. Some of the flavour of present discontents can be picked up even in this short essay.

MARGARET WRONG PRIZE

The Margaret Wrong Prize of up to £20 will be offered in 1954 for a piece of original literary work in one of the metropolitan languages, by an African whose home is in any part of Africa south of the Sahara.

The Margaret Wrong Medal will be offered to Africans whose home is in Belgian Congo (including Ruanda-Urundi), Southern Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, Zanzibar. The work may be written in Arabic or any African language.

The closing date for the Prize is December 31, 1954, and for the Medal, February 28, 1955. Apply for full details to: The Honorary Secretary, THE MARGARET WRONG MEMORIAL FUND, Edinburgh House, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

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